RAJYA SABHA

Wednesday, the 7th March, 2001/16 Phalguna, 1922 (Saka)

The house met at eleven of the clock,

MR. CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

Ceasefire in North-East

†*161. SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether any positive results have been brought by unilateral ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir and unconditional ceasefire in Nagaland;

(b) if so, why such type of unilateral and unconditional ceasefire is not announced in Assam and other affected States of North-Eastern Region to bring peace in these States; and

(c) whether considering all the factors Government would take such type of steps in these States soon?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO): (a) Yes, Sir, the Unilateral Peace initiative in J&K and ceasefire with NSCN(I/ M) backed up by ground rules in Nagaland have led to positive results.

(b) and (c) The Government of India and the Government of Assam have declared suspension of operations against Bodo Liberation Tiger. This is backed up by agreed ground rules. The Government of Manipur has announced a unilateral ceasefire with all militant groups in the State, for a period of one month.

No omnibus policy measures can be drawn up for the entire North-East, as the situation differs from State to State. However the situation is kept under close watch by the Government of India.

Effect of Ceasefire on militant operations in J&K

†*165. SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government think that the ceasefire has considerably reduced the militant operations in Kashmir;

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†Starred Question Nos 161 and 165 were taken together.

(b) to what extent Government desire to continue the Kashmir ceasefire to achieve peace process;

(c) whether it is a fact that Pakistan has not even pulled back its forces from the Line of Control and is still abating infiltration and keeping militancy alive there; and

(d) whether Government propose to evolve any package by exploring the advantages of ceasefire for initiating permanent peace in Kashmir, if so, the details thereof?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO): (a) to (d) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

Statement

(a) There has been a perceptible change in the general atmosphere in the State of J&K in terms of overwhelming positive response from the public and the mainstream political parties to Prime Minister's Peace Initiative. However, except on the border/LoC the extent of violence has not seen any significant decline because militants have been hostile to the Peace Initiative.

(b) The Government has reviewed all aspects of the situation in J&K in its totality and has benefited from consultations with all political parties that it held on Feb. 21, 2001. It was felt that violence must be ended and peace, which has been welcomed by the people of J&K, should be given every chance. The Government has accordingly decided to further extend the period till 31 May 2001. Any further continuation of the peace initiative will depend upon a comprehensive assessment of all relevant factors including the ground level situation in J&K, which is being periodically reviewed at the highest levels.

(c) There are reports to the effect that consequent to Pakistan's announcement of partial withdrawal of troops during third week of December 2000, certain reserve formations and some formations undergoing training in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir moved to their permanent locations. There are, however, no inputs to suggest reduction/withdrawal of troops physically deployed on the line of control, and it is regrettable that Pakistan still continues to promote, encourage, aid and abet cross border terrorism in J&K State and has not so far shown any inclination to reign in the terrorist groups.

(d) The Government is pursuing a multi pronged strategy to bring peace and normalcy in J&K. As part of the strategy Government has repeatedly indicated its willingness to have talks with any group in the State that abjures violence. Simultaneously Government is determined that law and order is maintained and that any act of violence or terrorism in the State is firmly dealt with by the security forces. It is also our hope that Pakistan will act, even now, and abjure violence, give up its hostile propaganda against India, stop promoting and aiding cross border terrorism, and take the path of peace through bilateral talks as enshrined in the Shimla agreement and the Lahore Declaration.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: Sir, I have not got the complete answer to part (b) of my question. In the answer, it is stated that, "The Government of India and the Government of Assam have declared suspension of operations against Bodo Liberation Tiger." But it is not the only militant group there, the ULFA is also there, the NDF (B) is also there. Sir, Assam and several North-Eastern States are burning due to the activities of various insurgent organisations like ULFA, NDF(B) etc.

These insurgent organisations have come up out of frustration created because of the sheer negligence shown by the Centre, in one way or the other, to the region, in the past. These insurgent organisations consist of Indian citizens of the region.

Sir, in such a situation and considering the positive results of unconditional ceasefire with NSCN (IM) in Nagaland and also considering the positive signs of the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir, I would like to suggest the Ministry of Home Affairs to announce an unconditional ceasefire with the ULFA and other militant organisations of the region also, with a view to bring them to the negotiating table so that permanent solution to this problem could be arrived at. It will also help in preventing the senseless fratricidal killings in the region and in bringing peace to the region. So, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether he will consider announcing an unconditional ceasefire with the ULFA, the NDF(B) and other militant organisations of the region. If so, what is the time frame? If not, what are the reasons therefor?

SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO: Sir, so far as the people of Nagaland are concerned, they have welcomed the peace process and they have also started coming out in the open to demand the continuation of the peace process and an end to the violence as well as an end to the factional clashes and extortions. So far as the issue of Nagaland is concerned, it has been decided to extend the unilateral ceasefire and the results have been very good.

As far as the ULFA and other militant organisations, as mentioned by the hon. Member, are concerned, it is not being considered because there is no initiative from the local people and militant organisations.

SHRI DRUPAD BORGOHAIN: Sir, my second supplementary is, nowadays, in Assam, Indians are killing Indians; Assamese are killing Assamese and Bodos are killing Bodos. All these killings are being condemned by all the recognised political parties; by all the social organisations and by all the genuine people. Some people say that some of these killings are perpetrated at the behest of the ISI, but most of the people in Assam experience another phenomenon, i.e., some killings are perpetrated by insurgent and militant organisations of the region and some other killings, known as secret killings, are perpetrated by a section of police and security forces in collaboration with some of the surrendered elements. Sir, to prevent these killings by militants, negotiation is the best means, but killings made by a section of police and security forces using some surrendered elements are to be prevented by the Home Ministry by adopting a correct policy. So, Sir, I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether he is aware of all these phenomena which are prevailing in Assam. If he is aware of it, what action he is taking; and if not, whether he will study or re-study the situation thoroughly and do the needful? This is my second supplementary.

SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO: The Government is ready to talk to any militant groups that eschew violence and come to the mainstream. So far as the allegation that some people are being killed by the security forces is concerned, I would like to say that there is no truth in it. It is denied.

SHRI N.K. PREMACHANDRAN: Sir, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for clubbing these two questions. Regarding the unilateral ceasefire, the statement which has been given by the hon. Minister specifically states that, except on the border, the LoC, the extent of violence has not seen any significant decline, because militants have been hostile to the peace initiatives. Sir, it is a welcome step which has been taken by the Government in declaring the ceasefire during the holy Ramzan period, and that has been extended for a further period of three months. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what initiative has been taken by the Government to bring peace in the Valley, because it is an admitted fact that even after the ceasefire, killings of innocent people are going on. Does the Government have any policy to bring peace in the Valley or whether any talk have taken place in this regard/ What initiative did the Government take to bring peace, because mere declaration of ceasefire will not give any result? I would like to state that if the Government has any policy to bring peace and if the

ceasefire will not give any result? I would like to state that if the Government has any policy to bring peace, and if the ceasefire has to be fruitful, then, something has to be given and something has to be brought into. What policy is being pursued by the Government so as to initiate talks with Pakistan so that the ceasefire becomes meaningful? I would like to ask from the hon. Minister all these things.

SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO: Mr. Chairman, Sir, having noted the longings of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir, I would like to say that they want restoration of peace and normalcy in Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, Sir, this peace mission has been launched by the Government of India. The hon. Prime Minister has also given a statement to that effect. The non-initiation of combat operations have been welcomed by the local people. Sir, this initiative has been taken to hold talks with all the militant groups if they come forward and respond to the non-initiation of combat operations that is initiated by the Government. So far as the local people are concerned, I would like to say that they are overwhelmingly supporting this mission, and for the first time, Sir, the Ramzan festival went on peacefully which was never seen in last several years. The Panchayat elections were also conducted peacefully. So, overall, there has been an overwhelming welcome response from the local people. But, however, these militant groups have not yet come forward to negotiate with the Government of India in response to its offer of talks.

THE LEADER OF OPPOSITION (DR. MANMOHAN SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, with regard to the peace initiatives that have been taken in the North-East, the general perception is that unless we involve all the affected parties, we are going to get only limited results. The Government of Nagaland, for example, has been feeling that there are other groups, other factions of the NSCN who ought to be involved. Will the Government inform the House as to what is their thinking with regard to involving these other factions of the NSCN in the peace process? The second issue, Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to raise is with regard to the Jammu & Kashmir. All political parties at a meeting that was convened by the Prime Minister had welcomed the peace initiative. But it was also, I think, universally agreed that the ceasefire is not an end in itself, but it is only a part of the process contributing to the settlement of the underlying problem; and expectations have been aroused. The Prime Minister in his musings from Kerala had talked of unconventional and imaginative new approaches to solve this problem. Would the hon. Home Minister tell us what is the thinking of the Government so that the peace process can be carried over from the ceasefire to meaningful negotiations with all affected parties.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI L.K.ADVANI): Sir, the Leader of the Opposition has made two points. One is in respect of involving other groups in Nagaland apart from the NSCN(I-M) and the second is in respect of Jammu and Kashmir, where there is a need to go beyond merely ceasefire and move towards some peaceful settlement. I agree with both the issues. In respect of the first issue, I may mention that I had only last week-end visited Nagaland and had elaborate discussions not only with the State Government and the State officials, but even with various other groups. The Government of India is in agreement with the State Government's views that the NSCN(K) and the Federal Party also should be involved. These are other militant groups in the State along with the NSCN (I-M). And there should be ceasefire also. Informal talks have been held and I hope that the Government would be in a position to announce some approach in that regard and involve these groups also.

So far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, I may mention that the Ramzan peace initiative was addressed to three sections. Firstly, principally the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Their response has been very good. Secondly, the international community. Their response has been equally good. But the third section, which was addressed, was the various militant groups, who, at the initiation of Pakistan, have been indulging in cross-border terrorism. There, the response has not been satisfactory. Pakistan's own response has been to stop shelling on the border, which is welcome, but is an inadequate response. But, we hope that the climate created within the State, in the people of Jammu and Kashmir, and the climate created throughout the world against cross-border terrorism will act as a kind of a pincer, which would pressurise even Pakistan. We hope that Pakistan will exert to rein in these militant groups, who have not responded or who have opposed the peace initiative by the Government of India.

Meanwhile we are also determined to see that we start discussions with the groups within the Jammu and Kashmir State in respect of what solution should be found out. We propose to move in that direction.

SHRI W. ANGOU SINGH: Sir, during the ceasefire, the militant outfits of the North-East are continuing extortion of money and creating disturbances at the National Highways by acts such as burning of trucks, carriage vehicles etc. I would like to know whether there is any agreement to cease such occurrences on the National Highways Nos. 39 and 53 so that such disturbances may not happen in future.

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: I would admit that in respect of ceasefire, instances of extortions or arson of this kind have been happening and these are violations of the ground rules. It has been the effort of the Security Forces to see that the ground rules are observed. Even in our discussions with the various militant groups, this point is emphasised again and again. It is true that during the period of last three years of ceasefire killings and murders have come down, but the other violations of the ground rules are there. I would not deny it. It is our consistent endeavour to see that these are curtailed.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, whatever may be the intention of the Government to bring peace to the North-Eastern Region, through the ceasefire process, we welcome that. So far, the ceasefire could not bring any peace to the region because of the inadequate directions and the ground rules. For example, during the period of late Shri Jayaprakash Narayanji, when there was a ceasefire, there was a total surrender of arms by the militants. The militants were not allowed to operate according to their own whims. Now, what is happening in the North-East is, after the ceasefire, the extremists are still holding the ground. They are indulging in extortions and killings not only in one part, but in other parts of the region. The NSCN is not confined to only Nagaland. Now, they have crossed over to Arunachal Pradesh. They have crossed over to Manipur and Assam. They are indulging in extortions and killings. Therefore, there is some inadequacy in the ground rules.

Number two is, regarding surrendered militants. The surrender of the militants has started long back. Till now, more than 2,000 militants have surrendered, but their rehabilitation is very much inadequate. Many of these surrendered militants continue to extort money in order to eke out their livelihood. So, I want to know whether the Government has any positive and effective steps to deal with the ceasefire; and also to rehabilitate the surrendered militants so that the actual peace process can be initiated. I want to know from the Home Minister whether any progress has been made in the talks with the militants because in his reply the indication about the talks is very insignificant.

SHRI CHENNAMANENI VIDYA SAGAR RAO: Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the ground rules are concerned, they were valid up to 31-7-2000. In January, 2000 they were revised. According to the ground rules for the ceasefire, that were finalised between the Government of India and the NSCN on the 30th January, 2001, there would be no offensive operations like ambush, raids, attacks leading to death, injury, damage or losses to the property. All precautions are being taken. Patrolling by the Indian Army and the para-military forces to check

the extortions, their movements, protection of convoys and to prevent offensive operations like ambush, raids and attacks leading to death, injury and damage have been taken. Pursuant to the ground rules, extortions have been prevented.

So far as the surrendered militants are concerned, they are being looked after separately. They are fed in the camps. A monthly amount is being paid to them for their rehabilitation. All necessary steps are being taken to bring them into the mainstream.

SHRI SHANKAR ROY CHOWDHURY: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the hon. Home Minister just now mentioned that the unilateral ceasefire announced by our Prime Minister has produced an excellent effect on the people of Jammu and Kashmir as well as on the international community. But the people to whom this ceasefire offer has been made have not responded which is very obvious. But, according to the Press reports, our unilateral ceasefire which was a blanket ceasefire, even if the opponent had not accepted, it has really resulted in the movement of the militants in Jammu and Kashmir entering a new phase of violence. That means, since November, since Ramzan, when this ceasefire was introduced, militants have taken advantage to regroup themselves. Now we are having a series of *Fidayeen* attacks which were not there earlier. In the latest extension of the ceasefire, the Prime Minister has said that we would take action against those people who would violate the ceasefire. But the impression we get from the media is there are still restrictions on the security forces in taking offensive operations. So, my question is, are there any restrictions on the armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir in taking offensive operations to search and destroy the militants?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: Mr. Chairman, sir, the hon. Member is naturally concerned about how the security forces would be viewing these matters. Firstly, I would like to emphasise that in taking these decisions of the Government and the peace initiative announced by the Prime Minister, the security forces had been fully a party. Secondly, it is a mistaken notion that these peace initiatives mean abandonment of our Fight against militancy. It is not. Even during this period of "ceasefire"—we had never used the formal word "ceasefire"—as many as 227 militants have been killed by the security forces, in the last three and a half to four months. It is true that these days, there is a concentration of "fidayeen" attacks. "Fidayeen", these suicide squads, are mainly comprised of mercenaries, not people from Kashmir, not people from this country. And they had been worked up with a kind of fundamentalist passion because of which "fidayeen' attacks do take place. They had been taking place

earlier also. But these attacks do get a lot of publicity and create an impression as if our battle against the militants has been somewhat abandoned, which is not so. The security forces have been instructed not even to wait for the other party to attack, but if they find people moving about with arms, they are free to take initiatives and see that the militants are suppressed.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: Sir, notwithstanding the claims by the Government that the situation is generally improving and a lot of initiatives have been taken in the North-East, we are actually witnessing that new areas and new organisations are being drawn into the vortex of mindless militancy. The latest example is the heinous attack on the GNLF supremo, Subash Geising in the Darjeeling hills. Press reports also suggest the involvement of the Gorkha Liberation Organisation, and in the actual operation, the NSCN-Kaplong group might have been involved. This also takes place in the background of press reports which say that the ISI headquarters for the region has been shifted from Bangkok to Nepal. And some of these elements have been actually apprehended from Nepal. So, what comprehensive plan does the Government have for the region because notwithstanding the claims of the Government, actually, there is a ground-swell of new militant activities extending to new areas?

SHRI L.K. ADVANI: The Government of India shares the concern of the West Bengal Government and the hon. Member's concern about this attack on Subash Geising and the possibility of other militant organisations, apart from the dissidents within his own camp, having engineered this. It cannot be ruled out. It is true, Our approach, in respect of the areas surrounding, where they take refuge, or which they try to convert into bases, is to see that the Nepalese Government, the Bhutanese Government, the Myanmar Government, the Bangladesh Government, work hand-in-hand with us in suppressing these elements. And I must say that all these Governments have been cooperating though in their own way and to their limited extent. In fact, this is one reason why it is not possible for the Government to agree with the proposal being made by certain elements that we should unilaterally declare ceasefire in respect of the North-East militant organisations because we would like to see that all these various countries, Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Myanmar, do cooperate with us fully in suppressing these elements.

If a unilateral ceasefire were declared as it is being suggested by some hon. Members, it would only make them feel that nothing needs to be done from out side. In case of Jammu and Kashmir, it is a different situation, because of which we took a peace initiative, even unilaterally, knowing fully well that it would take us long to

pressurize Pakistan into reining in these organisations. So far as the apprehensions of the Hon. Members are concerned, I can only say that the Government of India shares them and is conscious that we need to take effective action.

श्री संजय निरूपम: आदरणीय सभापति जी, सीजफायर के संदर्भ में, विशेषकर जम्मू-कश्मीर में जो सीज़फायर को लागू किया गया है, उस बारे में हमारी क्या भूमिका है, क्या राय है, आदरणीय गृह मंत्री जी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। पिछले हफ्ते गुरुवार और शुक्रवार से घाटी में और जम्मू में हिंसा की घटनाएं लगातार बढ़ी है, फिदाइन अटैक की बात बता रहे हैं। इसके अलावा चाहे पुंछ क्षेत्र हो, बारामूला का क्षेत्र हो, या जम्मू के बहुत से क्षेत्र हों, इन क्षेत्रों में हिंसा की घटनाएं लगातार बढ़ रही हैं। सैनिकों पर, सैनिक ठिकानों पर, सैनिक दस्तों पर हमले हो रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि सीजफायर की इस अवधि में नवम्बर से लेकर अब तक या पिछले साल नवम्बर से लेकर फरवरी तक हिंसा की कितनी घटनाएं हुईं, उनमें कितने सैनिक मारे गए? माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने बताया कि 225 के लगभग आतंकवादी सीज़ फायर के दौरान मारे गए। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूं कितने आतंकवादी मारे गए, कितने सैनिक मारे गए और कितने सिविलियन मारे गए उस अवधि में और सीजफायर की इस अवधि में?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: जनवरी के महीने में 370 घटनाएं हुईं, जिनमें 74 नागरिक मारे गए, 80 सिक्युरिटी फोर्सिस के लोग मारे गए और 78 मिलिटेंट्स मारे गए। फरवरी के महीने में 169 घटनाएं हुईं, जिनमें 50 नागरिक, 20 सिक्युरिटी फोर्सिस के लोग और 54 मिलिटेंट्स मारे गए। मेरे पास इन दो महीनों के ये विस्तृत एकाउंट हैं, पहले के भी हैं।

श्री संजय निरूपम: इन आंकड़ों की पिछले साल के इसी पीरियड से हम तुलना करें तो यह ज्यादा है या कम है?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: वैसे तुरंत पहले का मैं बता सकता हूं कि अगर 895 घटनाएं 90 दिनों में इमिजिएटली बिफोर दि रमजान सीज फायर हुई थी, तो अब 914 हुईं। इसका मतलब है कि मोटे तौर पर हिंसा की घटनाओं की संख्या उतनी ही है, जितनी पहले थी, उसके कारण कोई कम-ज्यादा नहीं हुई है, जिसका अर्थ है कि हमने जो अंदाजा लगाया कि पाकिस्तान के तंजीमों द्वारा हमारे सीज फायर के कारण कोई कमी आई है, ऐसा नहीं हुआ। हां, बार्डर पर जरूर कमी आई है, जिसको हमने स्वीकार किया है।

श्री संजय निरूपम: हिंसा की घटनाएं बढ़ी हैं...

श्री लाल कृषण आडवाणी: बढ़ी नहीं उतनी हैं।

श्री संजय निरूपम: और मारे गए सैनिकों की संख्या बहुत बढ़ी है। पिछले साल इस अवधि में जितने सिविलियन मारे गए थे, उनकी संख्या बढ़ी है। मेरे कहने का अर्थ यह है कि हमारी पार्टी प्रमुख

श्री बाला साहब ठाकरे जी का कहना है कि इस सीज़ फायर का कोई अर्थ नहीं है, बल्कि वहां पर इसका दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है। इसलिए हम इस सदन में एक बार फिर आपसे मांग कर रहे हैं कि इस सीज़ फायर को तत्काल यहीं पर रद्द किया जाए और अपनी आर्म्ड फोर्सिस को पूरी छूट दी जाए आतंकवादियों से निबटने के लिए।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: मैं केवल इतना कह सकता हं कि आपके दृष्टिकोण को मैंने नोट कर लिया है, लेकिन इस मामले में सिक्युरिटी फोर्सिस का अपना दृष्टिकोण क्या है, इसको सरकार बहुत महत्व देती है।

सरदार बलविन्दर सिंह भुंडर: ऑनरेबल चेयरमैन साहब, मैं आपके ज़रिए होम मिनिस्टर साहब से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि देश में अमन के लिए गवर्नमेंट ने जो फैसला किया, यह अच्छी बात है, लेकिन इसमें एक खतरनाक बात है और वह यह है कि मिलिट्री के कैम्पों में कर्नल तक मारे जाने लगे हैं और मिलिट्री वाले अपने डिफेंस के लिए दो-दो, तीन-तीन किलोमीटर तक दोहरा-दोहरा डिफेंस बना रहे हैं फिर भी आतंकवादी उन पर हमले कर रहे हैं। सभापति महोदय, इससे मिलिट्री फोर्सेज़ डिमॉरिलाइज हो रही हैं और उनमें गम और गुस्सा भी है। इससे देश को और ज्यादा नुकसान होने का खतरा है। दूसरी बात यह है कि सीजफॉयर जब होती है तो दोनों दलों के लिए होती है लेकिन जो टैररिस्ट्स हैं, वे अपनी मरजी से जहां दिल करता है, वहां हमला करते हैं, कभी किसी सिक्ख पर अटैक किया, कभी किसी बकरे वाले पर अटैक किया, कभी किसी ट्रक ड्राईवर पर अटैक किया। जो मिलिट्री वाले हैं, अगर वे उनके खिलाफ कुछ ऐक्शन करते हैं तो उन पर इंक्वायरी बैठ जाती है। इसलिए यह सारा मसला जिस तरह गंभीर होता जा रहा है, यह बहुत चिंता का विषय है। इसलिए मैं मिनिस्टर साहब से जानना चाहता हूं कि इन सारे हालात को सामने रखकर क्या आप दोबारा इस बारे में विचार करेंगे क्योंकि यह जो इतनी लंबी अवधि के लिए सीजफॉयर की गई है, इससे कहीं फायदे के बजाय देश को नुकसान न हो जाए।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: सभापति महोदय, मैं इस बात से सहमत नहीं हूं कि सिक्योरिटी फोर्सेज डिमॉरिलाइज्ड हैं। अलबत्ता यह बात सही है कि अगर कोई भी मिलिटेंट आर्गनाइजेशन सुसाइड स्कवैड्ज तैयार करने में सफल हो जाती है तो they can certainly reach the highest level. हमारा अपना इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि इस प्रकार की स्थितियां आती हैं लेकिन उसके कारण यह मानना कि सिक्योरिटी फोर्सेज़ डिमॉरिलाइज्ड हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। मैं आपको बता देना चाहता हूं कि काफी हिम्मत के साथ, काफी साहस के साथ, काफी बहादुरी के साथ वे जिस प्रकार से आज भी मिलिटेंसी के खिलाफ लड़ रहे हैं, उसी कारण मैं कहता हूं कि इस मामले में अभी तक जितने भी निर्णय हुए हैं और आगे भी जो निर्णय होंगे, उनमें सिक्योरिटी फोर्सेज का दृष्टिकोण क्या है, उसको बहुत महत्व दिया जाएगा।

DR. KARAN SINGH: Mr. Chairman. Sir. the statement and the statistics given by the Hon. Home Minister give, I think, a wrong impression that the people of Jammu & Kashmir are very happy. I must say that despite the ceasefire, there is an atmosphere of tremendous tension in the entire State. In the Valley, there are *hartals* almost every week. In the Jammu area, people belonging to the minority community, from Poonch, Rajouri and Gool Gulab garh are gradually leaving that area and coming down into Jammu. We cannot simply say that there are suicide attacks; commando attacks are taking place. Daring commando attacks are taking place. Many of them are getting away after the attacks. It does not seem as if all of them blow themselves up. Sir, these statistics and the statement give an impression that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are very happy. Certainly, there is relief at the fact that there is some lessening of tension, but I think, if the House gets the impression that the people of Jammu and Kashmir are particularly happy, they are not. Therefore, I would like to ask of the hon. Home Minister specifically one question. Three months have ellapsed now since the first ceasefire. Now, the whole point of the ceasefire is to start some... (*Interruptions*)...

SOME HON. MEMBER: Ask a question.

DR. KARAN SINGH: I am asking a question. I happen to know, if I may submit, perhaps, a little more about this than the other people. The question is this. The political process is...(*interruptions*)...

SHRI B.P. SINGHAL:Mr. chairman, Sir, this is Question Hour. This is not a debate. ...(*Interruptions*)...

प्रो॰ रामदेव भंडारी: आपसे उनको ज्यादा समझ है।

DR. KARAN SINGH: Sir, I am asking a question and that is, apart from the three months' ceasefire, there has been no beginning of a political process. The whole point of the ceasefire, as I understand it, is to begin or to initiate a political process, and that political process can be either a series of consultations, within the State, with all sections of the people belonging to Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh. And then, there is the Hurriyat. We seem to have swallowed the camel but are straining at the gnat. We have the ceasefire, and yet we seem to dig in our toes and say that we are not going to let the Hurriyat people go. Then, G.M. Shah has called a meeting in Jammu next week. What is our attitude towards that? May I submit to the Hon. Home Minister that simply extending the ceasefire by itself and hoping that the international pressure and the happiness of the people will pressurse Pakistan is not going

to work. You have got to begin a political process if you want to justify the ceasefire. May I inquire of you, Mr. Home Minister, when and how this political process is going to begin and why we have been so difficult in letting these Hurriyat people go? Let them see what they can do there. Why are we so terrified about that?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: The two questions have been mixed up by the hon. Member. Hurriyat is a separate matter, in so far as their self-assumed role of becoming mediators between India and Pakistan is concerned. The Government of India does not view them as mediators. They are part of the Jammu and Kashmir people and, therefore, if any discussions are to take place in respect of Jammu and Kashmir in future, the Government of India is willing to talk to the Hurriyat leaders also. But, all of a sudden, they have assumed the role of being the sole representative of the Kashmir Valley and being the mediators between India and Pakistan. This is a role that the Government of India does not concede to them. If the Government of India wishes to talk to Pakistan, it will talk to them directly, not through any intermediaries of this kind.

So far as the political process is concerned, the peace initiative was aimed at the Tanzeems, the militant organisations, which are becoming agents of Pakistan and indulging in the killing of innocents. In fact, it was first Hizb-ul-Mujahideen which initiated this ceasefire, first of all, a few months back and Government of India responded to it. Now, taking advantage of the fact that Ramzan month was coming, we thought in terms of an initiative which would bring, as you have said rightly, relief to the people of Kashmir, though I don't, for a moment, say that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have become very happy. That happiness can come only when there is not only peace in Jammu and Kashmir but also militancy has stopped and militancy has been defeated. That has not happened. Then only there will be happiness. But relief is there. The international opinion has been mobilised. We propose to pursue this matter so long as it is necessary. It is not easy to take decisions and, therefore, when the three months were ending, the Government of India did not take a unilteral stand. The Government of India invited all political parties and sought their opinion, because it is not a matter where ninety are on one side and ten on the other. The difference is always 55 or 45 on what should be done and what should not be done. Even my own colleague and ally strongly opposed to it. But we thought, taking into account all factors, this is the right course, give peace still an opportunity and see if our neighbour sees reason. To some extent, it has seen reason. Stopping of shelling on the border has happened after many, many years. You just go and see the Army people and the security

people who work on the border. For them it is an immense relief. So, all these factors have been taken into account. But so far as the discussions with the groups are concerned, the Government of India does propose to initiate discussions where even Hurriyat will be taken into account.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: Mr. Chairman, 200 people have died in two months Twenty-five thousand people have died in Jammu and Kashmir since the time the entire movement began. I want to put to the hon. Minister a question: Do you think a dialogue from this weak position will be of much use? This is one. The second question is: what is it that we are waiting for? When do we propose to review this? When do we review this? What are we waiting for? What are we trying to achieve through this?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: The situation is constantly reviewed.

SHRI SWARAJ KAUSHAL: I am only on ceasefire declaration.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Various initiatives are taken at different points of time. Here is a situation for which the initiative was taken in the month of November, Ramzan. Ramzan was only an occasion which, we thought, we could avail of making a beginning of this kind. It has gone on for three-and-a-half or four months and we have said that this situation will continue till the month of May. But, apart from this, all the other things that were being done in the past are still continuing. Our battle against militancy has not ended. We are still fighting against it. But at various points of time you have taken a certain initiative. You have to wait and be patient. We are not waiting for anything. You are right when you saty that 25,000 people have been killed in the past, because it is this that has encouraged Pakistan to persist with it. It is only in the one-and-a-half years that they felt the pinch of public opinion in the world. Earlier, even the public opinion on all the issues relating to Kashmir seem to weight in their favour and against us as if we were doing wrong. No longer does any country of the world think that India is wrong in so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned. I think the course that we have adopted is the right course and it will given results.

SHRI KULDIP NAYYAR: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Home Minister very rightly said that the Hurriyat people cannot be allowed to become mediators. If I recall correctly, there is a statement issued by the Hurriyat people that they are going there only to make an appeal to the militants to silence their guns. If it is true and if they are not wanting to play the role of a mediator, will the Home Minister consider sending this delegation as soon as possible?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Mr. Chairman, Sir, various leaders of the Hurriyat have been making various kinds of statements. I do not want to quote those statements. So long as this medley of statement continue, I think the Government of India's approach to the question of Hurriyat people going to Pakistan is the right approach in which we said that there is no objection to anyone going to Pakistan who has a passport and they are free to go. But if they want to assume the role of having been sent by India to Pakistan to talk to the militant organisations or to talk to Pakistan, I am afraid, that is not the view fo the Government of India.

श्री राजनाथ सिंह 'सूर्य' : माननीय सभापति जी, माननीय गृह मंत्री जी ने और उसके पहले माननीय गृह राज्य मंत्री जी ने स्वीकार किया है कि जो सीजफायर हुआ है उसका कश्मीर की जनता, अंतर्राष्ट्रीय समुदाय और देश की जनता ने स्वागत किया है। यह जो सीजफायर हुआ है यह न तो कश्मीर की जनता के किसी कृत्य के बारे में हुआ है और न ही अंतर्राष्ट्रीय ओपिनियन के संबंध में था जिसके कारण सीजफायर करना पड़ा। सीजफायर संभवत: इस कारण से किया गया कि जो मिलीटेंट कार्रवाई कर रहे हैं उस पर कुछ प्रभाव पड़ सके, लेकिन गृह मंत्री जी ने जो आंकड़े दिये हैं, उनसे कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ रहा है। प्रारम्भ में गृह मंत्री जी ने यह घोषणा की थी कि काश्मीर के संबंध में प्रो-एक्टिव पालिसी अपनाई जाएगी। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि जब मिलीटेंट्स की कार्रवाईयों पर हमारे इस सीजफायर का कोई असर नहीं पड़ रहा है और उनकी गतिविधियां बढ़ती जा रही हैं और आत्मघाती दस्ते हमले करते जा रहे हैं तो जो प्रो-एक्टिव पालिसी है जिसकी वजह से ये चीजें रोकी जा सकती हैं, तो उसका स्वरूप क्या अंतर्राष्ट्रीय विचार अपने पक्ष में करने मात्र से है या उसको और आगे बढ़ाने की बात सोची गई है? जैसाकि आज ही समाचार-पत्र में पढ़ने को मिला है कि सेना के लोग इस स्थिति से प्रसन्न नहीं हैं, तो क्या इस दिशा में और कोई कदम उठाने के बारे में सोचा जा रहा है जिससे कि इनकी गतिविधियां रोकी जा सकें।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: सभापति महोदय, मैं यह बात साफ करना चाहूंगा कि यह निर्णय अंतर्राष्ट्रीय मत अपने पक्ष में करने के लिए मात्र नहीं है। जिस प्रकार से पहली बार रमजान अच्छी तरह से मनाया गया है तो इसका यह परिणाम जरूर निकला है। लेकिन इसमें से केवल एक कारण की वजह से इसको नहीं किया गया है। अभी कुछ दिन पहले इस निर्णय को मई तक बढ़ाने का जो निर्णय लिया गया है वह सब पार्टियों से सलाह करके, अपने सहयोगियों से सलाह करके, सिक्योरिटी फोर्सेज से सलाह करके यह निर्णय सरकार ने लिया है। मुझे नहीं लगता है कि इतनी जल्दी इसमें पुन: परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है। हम देखेंगे कि इसका क्या परिणाम निकला है।

श्री गांधी आज़ाद: धन्यवाद , सभापति जी। प्रश्न संख्या 165 के भाग (घ) में सरकार ने कहा है कि सरकार जम्मू और काश्मीर में शांति और सामान्य हालात बहाल करने के लिए एक

बहुआयामी रणनीति अपना रही है। इस रणनीति के एक हिस्से के रूप में, सरकार ने , राज्य में हिंसा को त्याग देने वाले किसी भी ग्रुप के साथ बातचीत करने की अपनी इच्छा बार-बार प्रकट की है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि युद्ध विराम के इतने दिनों के बाद कितने आतंकवादी एवं उग्रवादी संगठनों ने सरकार से बातचीत की है और उसके परिणाम का ब्यौरा क्या है? यदि कोई परिणाम नहीं निकला है तो बिना युद्ध के युद्ध विराम क्यों?

SHRI L. K. ADVANI: Sir, we have already indicated that so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, no militant organisation has initiated discussions with us. This has happened in the North-East; first the NSCN (IM) and now, even the NSCN (K), have indicated their willingness; and the Federal Party also has indicated willingness, for it. The Bodo Liberation Tigers have already engaged themselves in a dialogue. So, it is in the North-East that these military organisations have responded to the call for dialogue.

DR. MANMOHAN SINGH: Sir, this morning's newspapers carried a very disturbing report. The hon. Home Minister has stated that in all these matters, the views of the Armed Forces are duly taken into account. It is in this context that I am raising this issue, that today's newspapers reported that the local commanders are very unhappy about the restrictions that have been imposed upon them with regard to search and seizure operations, and it is because of these restrictions they feel that these recent attacks by the militants have increased in Jammu Kashmir. Would the hon. Home Minister enlighten the House with regard to the facts of the matter?

SHRI L.K.ADVANI: When I said that these decisions in respect of peace initiatives have invariably been taken in consultation with the security forces, I meant 'the Commanders of the security forces'. But, if there are any reservations at any level, as has been indicated by the news reports that you have pointed out, we will certainly take cognizance of it.

Influx of People from Pakistan

*162. SHRI R. P. GOENKA. Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is an unabated inflow of people from Pakistan who have settled in the bordering districts of Barmer, Jaisalmer and Bikaner and are indulging in narco smuggling and other such unlawful activities; and

(b) if so, the estimated influx and steps being taken to identify such migrants and deal with the new threat?